

EARLY INDO-CHINESE INFLUENCE IN THE MALAY PENINSULA.

As Illustrated by some of the
Dialects of the Aboriginal¹ Tribes.

On a visit to Burma, in January 1892, I happened to meet with a vocabulary² of the language of Pegu, spoken by a race who call themselves Mōn, but who are also sometimes termed Talaing. While reading casually through it my attention was arrested by several words with which I seemed somehow to be familiar, and a more careful perusal convinced me of the fact that a considerable number of the Peguan words closely resembled their equivalents in the Besisi dialect of the Malay Peninsula, of which I had collected a short vocabulary from some aborigines of that tribe living in Malacca territory. This coincidence struck me at the time as being of great interest and I determined to look into the matter more carefully on my return to the Straits. A mere comparison of the vocabularies of the two languages could not have led to any very satisfactory results and it seemed desirable to take into account as many of the other aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula as I could get hold of and to include in the comparison a few other Indo-Chinese languages of cognate origin, especially the language of Camboja (Khmer) and such of the ruder dialects of the Mekong valley and southern Siam as seemed to throw any light on the subject.

1. The words "aborigines" and "aboriginal" are used in this paper to denote such of the non-Muhammadan inhabitants of the Peninsula as are not, like the Chinese and Hindus, settlers who have in historical times arrived from elsewhere. It is not intended to imply that all, or any, of them were absolutely autochthonous, or even that they were the first settlers; but it is assumed, as sufficiently proved elsewhere, that their presence in the Peninsula was antecedent to the immigration of the Sumatran Malays.

2. In "Specimens of the Languages of India" published in 1874 at Calcutta by the Bengal Government.

Annamese I thought it as well to avoid, and I have hardly looked into it at all; first because owing to its geographical position, both past and present, it could not possibly have exercised any influence on the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula and secondly because it has been so deeply modified by Chinese influence, that it cannot be regarded as a typical member of the Mon-Annam stock.

The collection of materials naturally took a considerable time. A good many, it is true, happened to be in my possession, more especially the vocabularies of the aboriginal dialects published in former numbers of the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, but the greater part had to be procured from elsewhere. The materials are fairly numerous but their value is often much reduced by the inaccuracies with which they abound, the scantiness of the information they contain, and the absence in many cases of anything like systematic arrangement. Of the latter fault I consider Newbold's vocabulary of the "Orang Benua" a glaring example: for he has evidently mixed up in one list fragments of the dialects of three or four distinct tribes, thus producing a language which was certainly never spoken by any one aboriginal tribe that ever existed. Yet his vocabulary is perhaps the fullest that is available for the study of the dialects in the neighbourhood of Malacca and, in spite of its faults, is a very valuable one.

Many of the materials for the comparison of these various languages and dialects are scattered about in different books which are not readily accessible except to persons within reach of a good library; and the greater part of this paper was put together before I had been able to refer to the "Journal of the Indian Archipelago" and the late Mr. J. R. Logan's numerous notices of the wild tribes and their languages. A reference to those notices showed me that the conclusions I had drawn from the evidence I had then collected had been to some extent anticipated by that high authority, who recognized the existence of Mon-Annam words in the dialects of the "Orang Semang" and the "Orang Benua," being led thereto, curiously enough, by the same Besisi dialect, in which he found analogies with Annamese.³ Nevertheless it seemed to me worth while to proceed

³. v. J. I. A. vol. iv, p. 345; N.S. vol. iv, p. 159; J.S. B. R. A. S. No. 7, pp. 84-92.

further in the matter, first because the subject is not at all fully treated by Logan in his comprehensive philological scheme, of which indeed it forms but an insignificant part, and secondly because considerable additions have been made since his day to our knowledge of the dialects in question and new evidence can therefore be adduced in support of his conclusions. I was also impelled by the consideration that since Logan's time nothing, so far as I could discover, had been done either to confirm or to controvert his views: his conclusions appear to have been lost sight of or ignored by those who in recent times have dealt with these matters. The result has been that several of these authors have delivered themselves of the most extraordinary *dicta* regarding the relation of the aboriginal dialects to other languages, some⁴ without any attempt at proof having asserted their connection with a variety of families of speech with which, so far as is at present known, they have nothing whatever to do, while others have been content to assert or imply that no known element except the Malayan has as yet been discovered in them. A perusal of Logan's articles in the "Journal of the Indian Archipelago" will convince anyone that the latter statement is incorrect.

The purpose of this paper then, is to point out again, however imperfectly, a line of research which was opened by the enquiries of Mr. J. R. Logan about forty years ago, but seems to have been forgotten and never followed up, although the results to which it may eventually lead might be expected to prove most interesting. In general terms it may be called the study of the early influence of the main-land of Indo-China on its outlying province, the Malay Peninsula, closely connected as they are in geographical position but widely sundered at the present day in regard to the ethnological and philological characteristics of the greater part of their inhabitants. For many generations the Peninsula has had intimate relations with Sumatra and in a less degree with Java and Borneo, with all of which it has many affinities; but, with the exception of the Siamese suzerainty over the Northern States and provinces, it has had little to do of late

4. *E. g.* Mr. Vaughan Stevens is reported by Mr. Clifford in *J.S.B. R. A. S. No. 24*, to have said that Sakai is allied to Tibetan. It would be interesting to know what prompted this statement and on what evidence it was made.

with Indo-China, and for practical purposes, as well as for purposes of scientific classification, it may be reckoned as part of the Eastern Archipelago rather than as an outlying portion of Further India.

I venture to think, however, that a careful analysis of the languages of the races that preceded the present Malay inhabitants of the Peninsula, the dialects, that is to say, of the scattered aboriginal tribes known generally to the Malays as "Orang utan" (jungle-men), or "Orang bukit," (hill-men) as well as by a variety of other names and nicknames, will bear out a view which seems to me foreshadowed by the fragments of linguistic evidence I have been able to collect; the view, namely, that in former times the connection of Indo-China with the Peninsula was more vital and effective than it is now or has ever been in recent years; and that an Indo-Chinese race, closely allied to the Peguans and their cousins the Cambojans and speaking a language of the Mon-Annam type, held some sort of sway over at least a part of the Peninsula at a time when the Malays had not yet established a footing there as the dominant power.

It may seem rash to base theories of this sort on such comparatively slight evidence as I am at present able to bring forward; but I imagine that in expressing what seems to me the conclusion to which that evidence leads, I am not exceeding the limits of a strictly legitimate hypothesis. Additional facts collected subsequently or independently can only serve either to disprove or to confirm this provisional conclusion, and either alternative should be welcomed as an addition to our knowledge of a subject which is at present involved in obscurity and has hardly perhaps met with the attention that from the historical point of view it would seem to deserve.

I will now present the linguistic evidence in the form of a comparative vocabulary in which a considerable number of words of the aboriginal dialects of the Peninsula are compared with their equivalents in Mon (Peguan), Khmer (Cambojan) and a variety of the dialects of the wild tribes of Indo-China which have been deeply influenced by the languages of their civilized neighbours and sometimes preserve archaic forms that are more primitive than the modern colloquial forms of those languages. With the exception of Besisi and a few Malacca Jakun and Mentra words collected by myself, all the words in this comparative vocabulary are given on the authority of the published works

in which they are to be found. The original spelling is left unaltered in all cases, except that the elaborate diacritical vowel marks of the French transliteration of Khmer and the tonal marks of Annamese have not been reproduced; to have done so would have involved much additional trouble and would have served no useful purpose in the present paper.

The authorities in question are, for

I.—Aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula.

- (a) Orang Utan of Johor, Ulu Endau, Ulu Rumpin; Aborigines of Ulu Kelantan and Ulu Patani—Miklucho-Maclay, *Straits Asiatic Journal*, No. 1, pp. 41-44.
- (b) Orang Benua, Kedah Semang and Jooroo⁵ Semang. Newbold, *British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, vol. ii. p. 422 seqq.
- (c) Semang—Begbie, *The Malayan Peninsula*, pp. 14-18. (No locality is given; and it seems doubtful whether this may not be a Sakai dialect).
- (d) Senoi, Tembe, Blanja and Slim Sakai.—Clifford, *Straits Asiatic Journal*, No. 24, pp. 13-29.
- (e) A few words of Kedah Semang from Crawford, *Malay Grammar*; of "Benua" and "Pantang Kapur" from Logan's articles in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* and the *Straits Asiatic Journal*, Nos. 3 and 9; and a word here and there from other sources as indicated in the notes when they occur.
- (f) For the rest, the vocabularies in the *Straits Asiatic Journal*, No. 5, p. 129 seqq.

II.—Languages and dialects of Indo-China.—

1. Civilized.

- (a) Mon⁶—Haswell, *Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan Language*.
- (b) Khmer⁷—Moura, *Vocabulaire Cambodgien*.

5. *I.e.*—Juru, near Province Wellesley.

6. Reference has also been made to *Specimens of the Languages of India* (v. note. 2) and Hodgson's *Essays on Indian subjects*, vol. ii. pp. 45-50; and I would here express my indebtedness to my friend Mr. H. L. Eales, B.C.S., lately Superintendent of Census Operations in Burma and now Deputy-Commissioner, Magwe, for much valuable assistance in connection with this language.

7. Reference has also been made to Aymonier, *Dictionnaire Khmer, Français*.

2. *Uncivilized.*

- (a) Ka and Chong—Crawfurd, Embassy to Siam, etc. vol. ii. *ad fin.*
- (b) Samre, Por, Cuoi, Phnong, Stieng and Prou.—Moura, Le Royaume du Cambodge, vol. i. pp.440-447.
- (c) Samre, Chong, Stieng, Banar, Cedang, Huei, Cat, Souc, Soue, Hin, Proons, So, Nanhang, Mi, Khmous, Lemet.—Garnier, Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine, vol. ii. pp. 490-517.

A few words of old Khmer and of Annamese have also been extracted from the last named authority.

The languages and dialects here mentioned extend from the tropic of Cancer to the neighbourhood of the equator and over some fifteen degrees of longitude, and they have been collected by a number of different persons, on all manner of systems. Allowance must therefore be made for the various methods of spelling adopted, which, as already stated, I have not ventured to meddle with. In the case of the Indo-Chinese words (*i. e.* those in the last column), except Mon and the two dialects given by Crawfurd, the authorities are French and have followed a French system.

In transliterating the Mon words from Haswell's vocabulary, which is in the native character, I have endeavoured to follow the method of spelling now universally adopted for the English rendering of Oriental languages, but as I have had no opportunity of hearing the language spoken it is to be expected that the rendering of the vowels, which are numerous and complex, is somewhat deficient in accuracy, though no doubt precise enough for the present purpose. In Besisi words *n* represents the sound of $\underset{\cdot}{\text{ṅ}}$ (=ny)

but unlike $\underset{\cdot}{\text{ṅ}}$ it occurs as a final sound; the modified vowels *ā* and *ō* are sounded approximately as in German; *a* has the sound of the English "aw"; an apostrophe after a vowel represents the abrupt tone of the vowel, when it occurs without a vowel at the beginning or in the middle of a word it indicates a sound something like the Malay *ē* only if possible shorter and hardly audible; final consonants, which are almost inaudible, are written above the line in small type.

Comparative Vocabulary.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula.</i>	<i>Indo-Chinese languages and dialects.</i>
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I. Family relationships.⁸

Father	ikun (Besisi) ikun (Benua)	kunh (Samre) kunh (Por) conh (Cuoi) kuny (Chong)
Father	ita (Endau)	ta (Old Khmer) [=grand-father]
Child	knon (Besisi) knon (Johor) kēnod (Senoi)	kōn (Mon) con (Khmer) con (Annam) con (Cat) con (Souc) con (Soue)
Son	kōn (Perak Semang)	ken (Old Khmer) ken (Samre) ken (Chong)
Grand-child	kanun (Benua)	

II. Parts of the body.

Arm (biceps)	bleg ⁿ (Besisi) beling (Benua) baling (Semang)	bleng (Soue)
Back	chēlón (Besisi)	khnang (Khmer)

8. A number of words of relationship are so similar in the Mon-Annam and Malayan groups that no safe conclusion can be drawn as to the origin of many of the forms in the aboriginal dialects which resemble them; they have therefore been omitted here.

Back	kiah (Benua) ki-ah (Semang)	cha' (Mon)
Blood	cheong (Kedah Semang)	chhim (Mon)
Body	sö' (Besisi) usi (Perak Semang) isi (Ijoh Semang)	sach (Khmer) [= flesh]
Flesh	see (Jooroo Semang)	
Bone	ja'ang (Besisi) jahang (Benua) aieng (Kedah Semang) iaang (Perak Semang)	cheong (Khmer) khong (Chong) xu'o'ng (Annam) cheang (Khmous)
Breasts (female)	tuh (Besisi)	tah (Mon) da (Khmer)
Milk	thuh (Benua)	tucda (Khmer)
Ear	kantak (Perak Semang) ntokn (Johor) inteng (Ijoh Semang) anten (Kelantan) anten (Patani) tög ⁿ (Besisi)	k-tō (Mon) tour (Stieng) dou (Banar)
Eye	mät (Besisi) mat (Benua) med (Jooroo Semang) med (Kedah Semang) met (Semang) med (Ijoh Semang) med (Kelantan) med (Patani) mat (Perak Semang) met (Kenering Semang) mot (Endau) mot (Johor)	mot (Mon) mat (Ka) mat (Chong) mat (Banar) mat (Cedang) mot (Samre) mot (Por) mat (Cuoi) mat (Phnong) mat (Pron)
Finger	raan (Johor)	meream (Khmer)
Foot	jaung } (Besisi) jok ⁿ } iük (Perak Semang) yohk (Kenering Semang)	chung (Mon) chung (Khmer) sang (Old Khmer) jiung (Soue)

Foot	diokn (Johor) chung (Benua) chau (Jooroo Semang) tchan (Kenering Semang) chan (Ijoh Semang) chan (Selama Semang) chan (Semang)	young (Proons) sinh (Por) jung (Cuoi) jong (Phnong) chong (Stieng) giong } (Banar) cheun } cho'n (Annam)
Hair	so' (Besisi) sak (Semang) sok (Kenering Semang) sok (Kelantan) sok (Senoi) sog (Ijoh Semang) sog (Selama Semang) sogk (Patani) suk (Endau) suk (Johor)	sōk (Mon) sac (Khmer) souk (Old Khmer) tioc (Stieng) xoc (Banar)
Hand	thē (Besisi) t'hi } (Benua) tung } toong (Semang) ting (Perak Semang) tong (Jooroo Semang) tein (Johor)	toà (Mon) day (Khmer) ti (Old Khmer) ti (Chong) ti (Soue) ti (Proons) tay (Annam) ti (Banar)
Arm		
Finger	ting (Perak Semang) ting (Kenering Semang) tü (Johor) wantung (Jooroo Semang) [lit.—“child of hand”]	
Head	koi (Besisi) koi (Benua) kay (Kedah Semang) kuya (Jooroo Semang) ko-i (Semang) kúi (Perak Semang) kúi (Ijoh Semang)	tuwi (Ka) toui (Huei) toui (Proons)

Head	kûi (Senoi) kûi (Tembe) kui (Kelantan) kui (Patani) kôe (Selama Semang) koi (Endau) koi (Johor)	
Mouth	pang (Besisi) ban (Kedah Semang) hain (Kenering Semang) hein (Selama Semang)	paing (Mon) mieng (Annam)
Navel	shôk (Senoi)	phchet (Khmer)
Nose	mû (Besisi) mû (Perak Semang) muh (Kenering Semang) mu (Endau) mu (Johor) moh (Ijoh Semang) moh (Patani) mo (Kelantan) mah (Semang)	muh (Mon) mouh (Banar) mui (Annam) mo (Phnong) mus (Cuoï)
Thigh	blëu (Besisi) balah (Semang)	phlou (Khmer)
Tongue	litig (Jooroo Semang) letik (Semang) letig (Selama Semang) lentak (Perak Semang) lentek (Kelantan) lentek (Patani) rentak (Senoi)	lătaik (Mon) ntac (Khmous) andat (Khmer)
Tooth	lemon (Besisi) lemun (Benua) lemun (Jooroo Semang) lemun (Perak Semang) lamo-ing (Semang) limon' (Endau)	thmenh (Khmer)
Tooth	nis (Patani)	gnëk (Mon)

III. Animals etc.

Bird	chīm (Besisi)	kāchēm (Mon)
	cheym (Perak Semang)	chiem (Chong)
	tchem (Kenering Semang)	chim (Banar)
	chêp (Senoi)	chiem (Huei)
	chêp (Tembe)	kiem (Souc)
		chim (Annam)
Egg	k'poh (Besisi)	pong (Khmer)
	kepoh (Benua)	
Egg	tab (Perak Semang)	khtap (Phnong)
Centipede	kiip (Besisi)	kaep (Khmer)
Dog	cha (Besiri)	tcho Old Khmer
	chu (Perak Semang)	cho (Ka)
	tchiau (Johor)	cho (Ka)
	koih	cho (Annam)
	chor	achor (So)
	chooh	achor (Nanhang)
	cho' (Senoi)	chor (Huei)
	cho' (Blanja Sakai)	so (Mi)
	cho' (Slim Sakai)	so (Khmous)
	chuor (Tembe)	so (Lemet)
	chioke (Kenering Semang)	
		? <i>cf.</i> chhke (Khmer)
Elephant	'mrāt (Besisi)	tomrey (Khmer)
	tameenda (Jooroo Semang)	
Ivory	bala (Benua)	phluc (Khmer)
	bāla'h (Semang)	
Fish	ka' (Besisi)	ka (Mon)
	ka' (Senoi)	ca (Stieng)
	ka (Benua)	ca (Banar)
	kâ (Perak Semang)	ca (Soue)
	kah (Kenering Semang)	ca (Annam)
		ka (Khmous)
		ka (Lemet)
Millipede	klui (Besisi)	khlos (Khmer)
	klui (Mentra)	

Mosquito	kēmūs (Mentra)	mus (Khmer)
Mosquito	kemit (Senoi) säbet (Perak Semang) sben (Ijoh Semang) semon (Malacca Jakun)	kāmit (Mon)
Rat	kanē (Besis) kedeg (Perak Semang) kanye } (Benua) kannik }	condor (Khmer) kane (Phnong) kane (Prou) keney (Stieng) kone (Banar)
Wild cat	kělâra (Mentra)	khla rokhen (Khmer)
Monkey	hol (Senoi) [= the siamang	[sva.] khol (Khmer) [= a large species of monkey]

IV. Plants, etc.

Flower	bakau (Perak Semang) bekaau (Kenering Semang)	phca (Khmer) kau (Mon) kao (Stieng)
Fruit	pli (Besis)	phlê (Khmer)
Leaf	laluk (Benua) selâ (Perak Semang) selah (Kenering Semang)	sloc (Khmer) sla } (Mon) lha }
Tree	log ⁿ (Besis) delokn (Johor)	long (Proons) long (Phnong) [= firewood] long (Stieng)
Tree	chuck (Kedah Semang) joho (Benna) jo-ho (Semang) johu (Perak Semang) ioh (Selama Semang)	chhu (Khmer) [= wood] chhu (Mon)
Wood	jêhu (Senoi) jêhu (Tembe) jêhu (Blanja Sakai) jêhu (Slim Sakai) chue ⁹ (Pantang Kapur)	

⁹. Logan J. I. A. vol. I., p. 263.

Pith	kol (Senoi)	khuor (Khmer) [=marrow]
Climbing rattan	chôk ⁿ (Senoi) chyung (Besis)	chuk (Mon) [=rope]
Plantain	diok (Johor)	chec (Khmer)
Plantain	telû (Perak Semang)	[tout] taloi (Khmous)
Rice	be (Besis) bei (Jooroo Semang)	bai (Khmer) [=cooked rice]
Padi	bâ ¹⁰ (Perak Sakai)	ba (Banar) [= <i>padi</i>] phe (Banar) [= <i>bêras</i>]
	biyun (Perak Semang)	pung (Mon) [=cooked rice] pien (Stieng)
Cooked rice	¹⁰ tchana (Perak Sakai) cha'na' (Senoi) cha'na' (Tembe)	chana (Mon) [=food]

V. Miscellaneous Articles and inanimate things.

Salt	empâut (Perak Semang)	ambel (Khmer) po (Mon)
Stone	tmu (Kelantan) gmu (Endau) gmu (Rumpin)	tma (Mon) thma (Khmer) tmo (Chong) tamau (Stieng) tamao (Soue) tamao (Nanhang)
Arrow	lo-i (Semang) laut (Perak Semang) löd } (Ijoh Semang) leläd } loig (Selama Semang)	leau (Mon)

10. Brau de St. Pol Lias, "Perak et les oranges Sakeys," pp. 271-273.

Arrow	tornan ¹¹ (Jakun)	pruonh (Khmer)
Quiver	lök (Besisi) tëlak (Mentsa)	clac (Khmer) [= <i>étui</i>]
Blowpipe	bělau (Besisi) blau (Perak Semang) belau (Ijoh Semang) blau Selama Semang) blahan ¹³ (Johor) bělau (Senoi) blâhu (Tembe)	comphlo ¹² (Khmer)
Mat	pil (Perak Semang) pille (Kenering Semang)	contil (Khmer)
Pillow	těnûi (Senoi)	khnoi (Khmer)
Hut	düg ⁿ (Besisi) dërk ⁿ (Senoi) dêh (Tembe)	tong (Old Khmer) tong (Samre) tong (Chong) doug (Souc) dong (Nanhang)
Jungle	'mbri (Besisi) dëbi (Perak Semang) bri (Rumpin) bri (Endau) bri (Johor)	prey (Khmer) bri (Old khmer) bri (Chong) bri (Banar) mpri (Khmous) pri (Lemet)
Mountain	bnum (Kelantan) bnum (Rumpin) benum (Endau) benum (Johor)	phnom (Khmer) nong (Old Khmer) nong (Chong) bnom (Stieng)
Mountain	butjak ¹⁴ (Patani)	tu (Mon)
River	biteu ¹⁵ (Ijoh Semang)	bî (Mon) [=river]

11. J. S. B. R. A. S., No. 4, p. 6.

12. *Comphlo* would seem to be a derivative of *phlo*, "double," the reference being to the construction of the blowpipe of two bamboos, the one fitting inside the other. cf *Comphlung*, "musket," from *phlung*, "fire."

13. Evidently a misprint for *blahu*.

14. *Butjak*=*puchak* or *punchak*, whence Malay *Kemunchak* "peak."

15. *Biteu* is for *bi deu* "river of water": v. "water."

River	biteu (Selama Semang)	daik (Mon) [= water]
Rivulet	wang batauh (Semang)	
Earth	tē (Besi)	ti (Mon)
	teh (Perak Semang)	dey (Khmer)
	teh (Ijoh Semang)	te (Chong)
	teh (Selama Semang)	
	tei (Patani)	
	atei (Rumpin)	
	ate' (Endau)	
	atei (Johor)	
	tê (Senoi)	
	tê (Tembe)	
Land	teh (Benua)	
	teh (Jooroo Semang)	
	teh (Kedah Semang)	
Sun	¹⁶ tunkat (Endau)	t-gnoà (Mon)
	tunkat (Johor)	thngay (Khmer)
Sun	matbri (Rumpin)	matpri (Mi)
	matbri (Johor)	matpri (Khmous)
Moon	kachik (Kedah Semang)	khe (Khmer)
	kitchi (Patani)	kăto (Mon)
	kachil (Benua)	mechiai (So)
	guchah (Kenering Semang)	
	gechai (Perak Semang)	cachai (Hin)
	giché (Kinta Sakai)	kaosai (Soue)
	kichek (Ijoh Semang)	
	chi (Selama Semang)	

16. The words for "Sun" and "moon" deserve a note to themselves. (I.) For the former we find apparently two distinct sets of words: (1) *tgnoa* (Mon) *thngay* (Khmer) and representative forms in other dialects, represented perhaps by the first syllable of the Johor *tunkat*; (2) some combination of the root *mat* "eye" with some other word, as *pri*, forest, or *K-to*, which seems to be identical with the root meaning "moon." Thus Jooroo and Kedah Semang have *mitkatok*, Selama Semang *mekator*, Ijoh Semang *maktok*, etc. (II.) For "moon" we find the last-named root by itself. It is a very wide-spread one: cf. old Chinese *gwat* "moon," which appears in modern dialects as "guch" &c. but is evidenced by the early Japanese loan-word *gwatsu* or *getsu*, to which these Peninsular forms closely approximate.

Moon	gěche' (Senoi) gěche' (Tembe) gěche' (Blanja Sakai) bi-che (Slim Sakai)	
Star	puloi (Benua) perlohi (Chendariang Sakai) pēlai (Senoi) poo-lo-e (Semang)	phlu (Khmer) [= to shine]
Fire	ūs (Besisi) hus (Benua) has (Semang) us (Jooroo Semang) us (Kedah Semang) ōs (Perak Semang) ass (Kenering Semang) oss (Ijoh Semang) aus (Selama Semang) oos (Kelantan) oos (Patani) us (Rumpin) us (Endau) us (Johor) ois (Senoi) ois (Tembe)	ōh (Mon) [=fuel] os (Khmer) [=firewood] us (Cuoi) [=fire] ounh (Banar) ounh (Proons) ounh (Stieng) oun (Cedan) oidj (Souc)
Water	dēu } (Besisi) do } dak (Rumpin) daü } (Benua) d'hu } diau (Johor) ¹⁷ bateao (Kedah Semang) biteu (Ijoh Semang) beteu (Selama Semang) tēu (Senoi) tēu (Blanja Sakai)	daik (Mon) tuc (Khmer) dak (Ka) tak (Chong) trak (Old Khmer) do (Nanhang) doi (So)

Water	têu (Slim Sakai)	
Rain	gěma (Besi)	koma (Chong)
	gumar (Benua)	ma (Soue)
	kumeh ¹⁸ (Pantang Kapur)	
Evening	yoop (Semang)	jop (Khmer)

VI.—Qualities, conditions, &c.

Alive	ris (Besi)	ros (Khmer)
	agos (Perak Semang)	eri (Banar)
	gose (Kenering Semang)	
	gumos (Selama Semang)	
<i>cf</i> to live	gămas (Semang)	
Dead	mbös } (Besi)	kmoch (Khmer)
	k'bös }	[= corpse]
	kabûs (Perak Semang)	
	kaboss (Kenering Semang)	
	kebiss (Ijoh Semang)	
	kebiss (Selama Semang)	
	kobs (Johor)	
<i>cf</i> to die	kabus (Semang)	
Cold	teket (Besi)	cacat (Phnong)
	tkat (Johor)	cat (Khmous)
	tekad (Kenering Semang)	
Hot	pedee (Jooroo Semang)	cadau (Khmer)
	pedé (Selama Semang)	k-tau (Mon)
Small	hedet (Besi)	dot (Mon)
Male	ongkôn (Perak Semang)	angquang (Phnong)
Male	lěmól ¹⁹ } (Besi)	chhmul (Khmer)
	rěmól }	
Female	marbe ²⁰ (Selama Semang)	mame (Phnong)
Black	rěngah (Senoi)	rongit (Khmer)
		[= dark]

18. Logan J. I. A., No I, p 263.

19. *cf* "Man" *Limo* (Rumpin, Endau, Johor)
Simo (Endau, Johor)20. *cf* Woman *tunabeh* (Kenering Semang) *mabeh* (Benua)
mabeh (Ijoh Semang)
marbē (Selama Semang) *mabē* (Semang)

White	pintul ²¹ (Pantang Kapur) pělétau (Ijoh Semang) plétau (Semang)	p-taing (Mon)
Deep	jërö' (Besisi)	chrou (Khmer) chrou (So) chruh (Mon)
Full	'mbun (Besisi)	penh (Khmer)
Quickly	jöh (Besisi)	chhap (Khmer)
Below	kiyom ²² (Kedah Semang)	crom (Khmer)
Many	kërp ⁿ (Senoi)	kep (Chong)

VII. Actions.

To go	cho' (Besisi)	cho (Khmer)
	chup (Ijoh Semang)	[=go down]
	chip (Perak Semang)	jib (Old Khmer)
	chîp (Kenering Semang)	[=come]
	jok (Madek Jakun)	cheo (Samre)
	chup (Selama Semang)	[=go]
	chiop (Benua)	chea (Chong)
	chohok)	
	chîp (Senoi)	
	chîp (Tembe)	
	chi-üp (Semang)	
To eat	²³ chi (Selama Semang)	cha (Mon)
	ntia (Johor)	cha (Soue)
	nacha (Besisi)	si (Khmer)
	machi (Ijoh Semang)	chha (Samre)
	chacha (Benua)	cha (Cuoi)
	cha, (Senoi)	chha (Phnong)
	chiöh (Semang)	cha (Prow)
	cha' (Tembe)	
(f food	inchi (Benua)	
	inchih (Semang)	

21. Logan l. c. vol I, p. 264.

22. Crawford's Malay Grammar vol. I, pp. seqq.

23. Cf. the various Chinese dialects in which this widespread root is also found.

To drink	cha dēu (Besisi) (<i>i. e.</i> literally to "eat water.") chedo (Benua)	
To void	choh (Senoi)	chac (Khmer)
To sit	gûi (Senoi) gûi (Blanja Sakai) gul (Tembe) gëri (Slim Sakai)	angcui (Khmer)
To get up	li ^k (Besisi)	luc } croc } (Khmer)
To awake	ngak (Semang)	phuheac (Khmer)
To sleep	tag (Perark Semang) taig (Kenering Semang) jetek } letik } (Besisi) tiok } jettik } (Benua) ietek (Johor) te-ik (Semang)	dec (Khmer) tekla (Old Khmer) tep (Banar) theac (Samre) theac (Por)
To walk	dû (Besisi)	dor (Khmer)
To bathe	hum (Besisi)	hum daik (Mon)
To stand	jög ⁿ (Besisi)	chho (Khmer)
To bake	cho'ong (Besisi)	chong (Mon) [=to burn]
To cut	kah (Senoi)	cap } cat } (Khmer)
To chop	toit (Besisi)	chet (Khmer)
To catch	chép (Semang)	chap (Khmer)
To plant	mětöng (Besisi)	dam (Khmer)
To stab	chôk (Senoi)	chac (Khmer)
To lie	pa'-ho' (Senoi) (<i>i. e.</i> tell a falsehood.)	cahac (Khmer)
To cry	j-m (Semang)	jom (Khmer)
To cook	chîn (Besisi)	chien (Khmer)

To be	mung (Senoi) moh (Tembe) mo-ah (Semang)	mean (Khmer)
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VIII. Numerals.

One	^h moi (Besisi) mooi (Benua)	mwoā ²⁴ (Mon) muey (Khmer)
Two	mā (Besisi) mar (Benua)	bā (Mon) pir (Khmer)
Three	'mpi (Besisi) npe (Johor) ampi (Benua)	pi (Mon) bey (Khmer)
Four	npun (Johor)	pɔn (Mon)
Five	massokn (Johor)	māsōn (Mon)
Six	pru (Johor)	tārau (Mon)
Seven	tempo (Johor)	tāpah (Mon)

²⁴. The numerals occur in similar forms, with certain variations, in other Indo-Chinese dialects, *v. infra*.

Although many of these identifications are very doubtful and some will probably turn out to be erroneous, it will be admitted, after full allowance has been made for such cases, that coincidences as numerous as the above cannot be the result of mere accident but point to the influence of one common language. It would however be rash to conclude that all these aboriginal dialects, or any of them, are cognate to Peguan or Cambojan, and still more rash to thence infer that the races which speak them are ethnologically and genealogically related to the Peguan and Cambojan peoples. It seems pretty clear that the aborigines of the Peninsula cannot be regarded as one stock and the evidence²⁵ available seems to separate them into at least two distinct families: (*a*) the Negritos, (*b*) the relatively fair race of the centre of the Peninsula; to which I should be disposed to add as a doubtful third (*c*) the mixed tribes of the South, *i. e.* Johor, Malacca and parts of the Negri Sembilan, in which there is much reason for suspecting an aboriginal Malayan stock distinct from, though no doubt to some extent crossed with, the other two. To the best of my belief I have included in my comparison specimens of the speech of all three varieties, and it has been observed that all three, in varying degrees, show traces of Mon-Annam influence. If however they belong to different stocks, it is clear that they cannot all be ethnologically related to the Mon-Annam races, and in the case of the Negritos the thing is entirely out of the question. Without, therefore, going into details of ethnology which are outside the scope of this paper and which I have had no opportunity of studying, I will merely remark in passing that the fact of several distinct dialects of wild tribes of apparently different stocks bearing the impress of one common language is strong evidence that the influence in question was due not to the casual intrusion of an uncivilized tribe, but to the circumambient pressure of a race of relatively higher culture: that is a point to which it will be convenient to recur later on.

The ethnology of the Peninsula seems, however, to be a matter of much complexity and one towards the elucidation of

25. Besides the more recent authorities referred to in this paper Anderson (*Considerations relative to the Malayan Peninsula* App. p. xxxv.) is quite clear on this point.

which, I fear, very little positive help can be expected from the present paper. It is to be regretted that the compilers of most of the vocabularies here drawn from give little or no ethnological information regarding the people who speak the dialects they illustrate. It would have been better, if, while giving the name by which a tribe distinguishes itself and that by which it is known to Malays, they had added also a careful description of its physical characteristics. The names "Semang" and "Sakai" are conventional terms²⁶ and have no fixed ethnological meaning. "Semang" in Malay (according to Favre) merely means "debt-slave" and "Sakai" "servant," "dependent." According to D.F.A.H. in J.S.B.R.A.S. No. 19 p. 35 (note) *Sakai* means "dog" in which case it might perhaps be connected with the Cambodian *chhké*, which also has that meaning. Mr. Clifford in J. S. B. R. A. S. No. 24, p. 14, applies "Semang" to the Negritos and "Sakai" to the fairer race of jungle-men, and that appears to be the usual terminology; yet an anonymous author quoted in No. 1, p. 111. of the Journal does precisely the reverse, and Mr. Clifford himself (l.c. p. 18) speaks of a tribe calling itself "Semang" which was certainly not Negrito in character, while Miklucho-Maclay does not distinguish between Sakai and Semang as ethnical types, styling both of them "Melanesian" races.²⁷ All this makes it clear that these terms have no definite meaning; and as that is the case, there is an additional reason why caution should be shown in attempting to draw any positive ethnological conclusions from such data as are now under consideration.

But even to assume that the aboriginal dialects are cognate languages which should be classified in the Mon-Annam family would be going further than our evidence justifies us in doing.

26. The same is true of most of the other names of these tribes; the Sanskrit origin of "*Mentra*" is well known, and I suspect that *Jakun* represents the Pali *Yakkha*, (demon) and was therefore like *Mentra* an appellation given to the jungle-men by their Hinduized neighbours. The same applies to *Gargasi*. I believe the wildmen of Ceylon are similarly dubbed *Yakkho* by the Singhalese.

27. l. c. No. 2 pp. 208-9. "I have come to the conclusion that the *Orang Sakai* and the *Orang Semang* are tribes of the same stock; that further, in their physical *habitus* and in respect of language they are closely connected with each other and represent a pure unmixed branch of the Melanesian race."

Apart from the fact that in the case of some of the tribes, the weight of ethnological facts, so far as they can affect a philological question, tends to oppose such a conclusion, it must be remembered that the words that have been shown to be of Indo-Chinese origin constitute but a small portion of the vocabulary of the aborigines. There is nothing to prove that the basis of their languages is not entirely distinct and that the Mon-Annam words are not merely adopted, like the Sanskrit words in Malay, and grafted on to their primitive dialects. Partial identity of vocabulary proves historical contact but not necessarily family relationship among languages, and in comparing them the structure must be considered as well as the bare materials.

Now as regards the syntactical structure of these dialects very little evidence is forthcoming, and until a careful examination has been directed to that point it will be impossible to classify them with absolute certainty in any family of languages. M. Terrien de Lacouperie in "The Languages of China before the Chinese," enters somewhat fully into the varieties of ideological structure in different languages and points out the importance of duly considering the order of words in a sentence in languages, where that order is practically fixed and where in the absence of inflection or a developed form of agglutination, there is nothing but the syntactical structure and the identity of root-words to guide us in comparing different groups. He mentions incidentally²⁸ that the ideology of the "Semang" can be expressed by the formula 1, 4, 5, 8, III., that is to say :

- 1.—Genitive precedes noun.
- 4.—Adjective follows noun.
- 5.—Object precedes verb.
- 8.—Verb follows subject.
- III.—Subject object verb is the normal order of the sentence.

I do not know whence he derives his information as to this point, for he quotes no authority, and some doubt remains therefore as to what particular tribe he denotes by the term "Semang," but from the context it is plain that some of the Peninsular Negritos are intended.

²⁸. op. cit. p. 75. (note 2).

Now the ideology of the Mon-Annam group of languages expressed on the same principle is 2, 4, 6, 8, VI., that is:—

- 2.—Genitive follows noun.
- 4.—Adjective follows noun.
- 6.—Object follows verb.
- 8.—Verb follows subject.
- VI.—Subject verb object is the normal order of the sentence.

Assuming then the "Semang" ideological formula to be correct, it is clear that the syntactical structure of these Negrito dialects differs considerably from that of the Mon-Annam languages, but (as the author above mentioned points out) conforms to the same type as the Selung (a mixed or hybrid Malayan dialect of the Mergui Archipelago) and is very similar to that of Andamanese, which is given as 1, 4, 5, 8, I. III., which means that in addition to the points above noted the object sometimes precedes the subject instead of coming after it.

On the other hand, according to Mr. Clifford,²⁹ the ideology of the Senoi dialect of Sakai, and presumably of the other Sakai dialects also, would appear to be identical with that of the Mon-Annam group. This in itself is enough to draw a line between the speech of the Negritos and that of the fairer race, which according, to Mr. Clifford differ also widely in vocabulary, and the identity of the Sakai and the Mon-Annam structures must be admitted as an argument in favour of classing the former dialects in the same group as the latter and might even be brought forward to support the view that a strain of Indo Chinese blood exists in these aboriginal tribes. While however admitting that conclusion to be a possible one, it is necessary to point out that the argument on which it is at present assumed to rest is by no means strong: the Malay ideology is also practically the same as that of the Sakai and Mon-Annam groups and it has not yet been proved that the Sakai structure, though identical with the other two, is not in its origin independent of both. At any rate, its connection with the one may be quite as remote as with the other. That both have been in a position to exercise an influence over it, is, as we have seen, sufficiently proved by the mere verbal evidence of a comparative vocabulary

²⁹, J. S. B. R. A. S., No. 24, p. 23.

but whether the connection is one of language—affinity or mere contact must for the present at least be left an open question.

After making all these deductions and rejecting, if not absolutely, at any rate for the time being, the inferences of race—identity and linguistic relationship which one might be tempted to draw from the somewhat scanty materials now under consideration, a real historical conclusion remains: there is evidence, that is to say, of the strong influence of some Mon-Annam form of speech on the dialects of the Peninsular aborigines; and it is obvious that such influence cannot have been exercised without direct social contact of some kind or other. The low state of culture of the jungle-tribes entirely precludes the idea of a literary influence comparable to that of Greek on English, and it follows that if not themselves of Mon-Annam stock, and many of them certainly are not, they must have been in direct contact with a race that was.

We have seen too, that even the Negrito tribes of the North and the mixed Malayan tribes of the South show the impress of the same influence; and it is noticeable that the Mon-Annam element, though seemingly strongest in the Sakai, is considerable in the Negrito Semang, and appears to exist in varying proportions, even in the dialects of the mixed Malayan tribes of the south of the Peninsula: we are therefore driven almost irresistibly to the conclusion that it must have been due to direct contact with a superior and as we may fairly infer, a politically dominant race. There must have been a time, that is to say, when the ancestors of the present jungle-men of the Peninsula were held in subjection by an Indo-Chinese race of the Mon-Annam family, and it seems probable that such a race at some time or other held sway in the Peninsula itself. The only other alternative is to suppose that the so-called aborigines, after having been subjected to Mon-Annam influences in Indo-China, wandered down to their present haunts at a later period. That is a view consistent perhaps with the imperfect linguistic evidence at present available; but apart from the intrinsic improbability of a relatively recent migration of several independent and distinct races from Indo-China into the Peninsula, it is to be observed that the Mon-Annam stock was in former days dominant over a far more extended tract of country than would now seem probable if one judged merely by its present comparative

insignificance. Traces of its influence have been detected³⁰ in the aboriginal dialects of the Kolarian tribes in India as well as in the dialects of independent tribes within the limits of what is now the³¹ Chinese Empire, and though the subject is one of very remote historic interest and has only been partially explored, it seems pretty clear that the Mon-Annam family was formerly a very important and widespread group, which has left the marks of its presence in many parts of South-Eastern Asia. Certain³² it is that in the early centuries of the Christian era the Mon-Annam races of Pegu and Camboja were the dominant races of Southern Indo-China and became eventually the main channel through which Hindu civilization and the Buddhism of India and Ceylon were communicated to the other and more backward Indo-Chinese races, the Burmese and Siamese, who had not then made their way to the southern seashore but dwelt inland while the Mon-Annam races held the coast line.³³ It is therefore in no way surprising to find traces of their widespread influence as far south as the Malay Peninsula. Retreating, as we may imagine, in pre-historic times, before the advancing inroads of Aryan invaders in the Ganges valley and the increasing pressure of the growing power of the "Middle Kingdom," which was then developing into the Chinese Empire, the Mon-Annam races no doubt concentrated their main forces in Indo-China, where after centuries of obscurity some of them, under the teaching of Hindu immigrants, developed the flourishing civilizations of Pegu and Camboja, while an important eastern branch, the ancestors of the Annamese, falling early under Chinese influence, founded the half-Chinese state of Tungking, from whence they eventually spread into Annam and lower Cochin-China.

What then could be more natural and more consistent with the facts now under consideration than to believe that from the south of the Indo-Chinese mainland where the ruins of their

30. Mason, *Burmah*, 1st Ed.; Forbes, *Languages of Further India* pp. 33, 140.

31. de Lacouperie, *op cit. passim*.

32. Forbes, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 150, etc.

33. Exception must of course be made of the strip along the Eastern and South-Eastern coast, which comprised the Kingdom of Champa and was eventually absorbed by the encroaching Chinese and Annamese.

old temples and palaces still bear witness to the former splendour of a now decayed civilization, the Peguan or Cambojan race spread into the Peninsula and remained there long enough as a dominant power to make a lasting impression on the ruder tribes inhabiting these regions?

That at any rate is the conclusion to which the evidence I have adduced all appears to me to tend.

There remains the question whether the Indo-Chinese dominion in the Peninsula was that of the Cambojans or the Peguans or both, either mixed together or in successive epochs. That is a point of considerable interest, because closely related as these two races appear to be and intimately connected as they undoubtedly were at former periods of their history, it is nevertheless a fact that their language, letters and general civilization did in course of time diverge and each accordingly left its peculiar impress on the race with which it came into contact, the Peguans handing on their civilization to the Burmese, the Cambojans to the Siamese. Accordingly in³⁴ western and central Indo-China two distinct but closely connected sets of alphabets, two different modes of dress, and so forth, are discernible, the one derived from the Mon the other from the Khmer race, and both ultimately traceable to Indian sources.

In language however the relationship of these two races is after all more striking than their divergences, and it is hardly to be expected that with the materials now before us, we should positively decide to which of the two the aboriginal Peninsular dialects owe the Mon-Annam element in their vocabulary. The materials now available appear to me to be too scanty to enable us to come to a certain decision and it would, moreover, be necessary to carefully investigate archaic Peguan and Cambojan, as well as the modern forms of those languages. For it is at any rate quite certain that any Mon-Annam influence that may have been at work in the Peninsula dates back a considerable time and has now for a good many centuries been entirely cut off: it follows therefore that a really accurate comparison should be based on the archaic forms of the Indo-Chinese languages and not on their modern vernacular representatives. Unfortunately, with the exception of a few words of old Cambojan found in Garnier's

34. Forbes *op. cit.* p. 96.

comparative vocabularies, no materials of the kind have been at my disposal, and I have been compelled *faute de mieux* to fall back on the modern colloquial forms of the languages.

At the same time, it may be worth while to draw attention to a few facts which bear on the question. On general grounds it might have been anticipated that old Peguan and old Cambojan would approximate to each other more closely than their modern representatives; and in the Peninsular dialects we sometimes find forms that are decidedly more archaic than their equivalents in either of the modern languages. We know however from evidence derived from the inter-comparison of the dialects of the Mekong valley that the old Cambojan of which they have preserved the impress, was in several points nearer to the modern, and therefore to the old, Peguan, than to its own descendant the Cambojan of the present day: that is to say the modern Cambojan is certainly in many respects more corrupt than the modern Peguan. That point which is pretty clearly made out by Forbes³⁵ is best illustrated in the numerals: a comparison of these shows that modern Cambojan has abandoned its old system of numeration and has adopted a quinary system of which no traces are found in the other languages.

It does not therefore follow, because a word in a modern aboriginal dialect of the Peninsula approximates more closely to modern Peguan than to modern Cambojan, that it is derived from Mon and not from Khmer: the old Khmer form may have been quite as close to it as the present Mon form or even closer, if we only knew it.

It must be admitted, however, that in certain cases where an archaic Cambojan form is known, the equivalent in the Peninsular dialects does not correspond with it but with the Peguan. In the comparative vocabulary illustrating the present paper there is no lack of words in which modern Cambojan agrees well with the aboriginal Peninsular dialects and among others with the Johor dialect given by Miklucho-Maclay:³⁶ but the latter, which

35. Op. cit. pp. 49, 50.

36. Miklucho-Maclay's other dialect has clearly gone wrong: surely its numerals must be;

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	moi	—	npe	npotn	—	prui
	1	2	3	4		
not	moi,	npotn,	npe,	prui,	as he gives them	

I believe stands alone among the published dialects in having a series of numerals extending beyond *four*, has a distinctly Peguan system of numeration and does not agree either with modern Cambojan or with the old Cambojan of Garnier, though it does agree with some of the dialects of the Mekong valley and southern Siam which doubtless point back to a still more archaic form of Cambojan. I subjoin the numerals in question so that any one may make the comparison for himself: for those in the last column I am indebted to the Hon'ble D. F. A. Hervey.

	<i>Khmer</i>	<i>Mon</i>	<i>Cuai</i>	<i>Prou</i>	<i>Ka</i>	<i>Johor</i>	<i>Sakai of Serimf.</i>
1.	mouay (old)	muéy (modern)	mwoā	mui	moe	môi	môi
2.	bar	pir	bà	baar	bar	dua	dua'
3.	peh	bey	pi	pê	peh	npe	hmpèk
4.	pon	buôn	pan	puon	puan	npun	hmpudu
5.	pram	prām	māsōn	chhêng	chang	massokn	mēsogn
6.	krong	prām-muécy	tārau	trau	trao	pru	pèrú'
7.	groul	prām-pil	tāpzh	thpol	pah	tempo	—

As to the first four numbers, no difficulties arise: except for the Malay form of *two* in the Johor and Serting dialects, they correspond well enough in all the lists; but the Johor and Serting numerals for *five* and *six* and the Johor word for *seven*, are evidently the same as the Peguan forms and do not correspond either with the old or the modern Cambojan. On the other hand they agree fairly well with most of the forms in Cuoi, Prou and Ka, which from their geographical position can hardly claim a Peguan parentage.

It is clear therefore that the Mon-Annam element in the dialects of the Peninsula points back to a very ancient connection; and as there is so much in common between them and both Mon on the one hand and Khmer on the other, possibly the best explanation of the matter is that the Indo-Chinese words in them must be referred to the speech of the former inhabitants of the lower Menam valley, which lies between the modern Peguan and Cambojan language-fields and which may therefore not unreasonably be presumed to have stood midway between them in linguistic characteristics. It is also the part of Indo-China from which access to the Peninsula is easiest; and to this day a portion of the Peninsula to some extent owns the supremacy of that region.

At this point, therefore, my inferences from purely linguistic evidence must stop and I should be content to end this paper here, but for the corroboration which can be adduced from other sources and which slight as it is, it seems desirable to mention. In the Chinese chronicles of the Liang dynasty (A. D. 502-556)³⁷ under the heading *Tun-Sun* we find the following entry:—
 “More than 3000 *li* to the south of *Fu-nan* there is the country *Tun-Sun*; ³⁸ it is situated on a Peninsula more than a thousand *li* in extent, and the capital is ten *li* (about three miles) away from the sea. There are five kings, who all acknowledge the supremacy of *Fu-nan*.”

Now all we really know of *Fu-nan* is that it was a large kingdom situated on the southern coast of Indo-China³⁹ and inhabited by a people somewhat darker than the Chinese who

37. Indo-Chinese Essays, series ii, vol. i, p. 239.

38. Cp. ib. p. 248. In the history of the Ming dynasty, “Malacca is supposed to be the old country *Tun-Sun* and the *Kora Fusa* of the T'ang dynasty.”

39. Forbes op. cit. pp. 43-47.

practised certain customs which the Chinese chroniclers describe and, amongst other things, worshipped the Hindu deities. It has been variously identified with Pegu, Siam⁴⁰ and Camboja, and perhaps the most probable solution is that at one time it included all three. But if its centre was in the country now known as Siam, it is at any rate certain that its inhabitants were not Siamese. It must not be forgotten that the Siamese are comparatively recent intruders in the southern parts of the land that now bears their name, and that the whole southern seaboard of Siam was formerly in the hands of the Cambojans, at a time when the germ of the Siamese monarchy was a little inland state on the upper Menam owning the supremacy of the Cambojan Government⁴¹. The Siamese themselves have not forgotten the fact and they admit that their old capital Ayuthia⁴² was founded about the year 1350 on the site of an old Cambojan town named Lawek or Lovec which they had taken and destroyed in a series of wars with Camboja. These wars ended in the crippling of the latter power and thus laid the foundation of the greatness of Siam. It is clear therefore that the lower Menam Valley was at one period included in the Kingdom of Camboja and according to Garnier that kingdom extended westwards to the river Sittang in Pegu; this kingdom therefore he identifies with Fu-nan, and hazards the opinion⁴³ that for some time between the 3rd and 10th centuries of our era Camboja had supremacy over the Peninsula generally, as well as over a very large portion of Southern Indo-China.

Logan⁴⁴ on the other hand speaks of a Peguan colony in Kedah, as attested by inscriptions in the Mon character found in Province Wellesley; but it may be doubted whether any

40. Garnier op. cit. pp. 103 (note), 108, 113, 127, (note).

41. We sometimes hear of the "venerable claims" of Siam to supremacy in the Malay Peninsula: as well might one speak of the "immemorial antiquity" of the Ottoman dominion in Europe. Still no doubt, the Kingdom of Siam is in a manner the modern representative of the old Cambojan Kingdom, just as the "Sultan of Rûm" claims to be a successor of the Byzantine Caesars; but that is all. v. Forbes op. cit. p. 23. Garnier op. cit. vol. 1, p. 105 (note).

42. Crawford Embassy to Siam, vol. ii, p. 141. Forbes op. cit. p. 84 but see Garnier l. c. p. 137 note.

43. Op. cit. vol. I, pp. 116, 125, 135.

44. J. S. B. R. A. S., no. 7, p. 85.

inscriptions hitherto found in the Peninsula are sufficiently characteristic to prove a specifically Peguan origin: they are, I believe, mainly in Sanskrit⁴⁵ and the character is one of the numerous forms into which the Indian alphabet has diverged, but whether Logan is right in distinctly asserting them to be Peguan I have no means of ascertaining. Elsewhere he speaks also of a period of Cambodian influence in the Peninsula, and his view⁴⁶ would appear to be that there were two successive epochs, the first of Peguan, the second of Cambodian supremacy.

Moura⁴⁷ in relating the history of Cambodia from Chinese sources, states that in 627 A. D. the "King of Chon-lap (Cambodia) united the whole of Fu-nan under his authority. From this period onward the Chinese chroniclers denote Fu-nan by the name of Chon-lap.....About 650 A. D. the countries of Cuu-mat, Phu, Na, Gia, Tac, Vo, Hinh, Seng, Kao, situated towards the isthmus of the Malay Peninsula were united to Chon-lap."

That is all the historical evidence I am able to adduce and it really amounts to two statements, viz. that at an early age a part of the Peninsula was under the dominion of Fu-nan, which Forbes⁴⁸ regards as Pegu and which probably included the lower Menam valley, and that Fu-nan and Chon-lap, which latter is certainly Cambodia, became united in the 7th century and Chon-lap took over the suzerainty of certain southern states whose names I am unable to explain, but which are admitted to be somewhere in the Peninsula or the isthmus leading to it. In spite of many intestine quarrels and frequent struggles with surrounding nations it may fairly be stated as an ascertained fact that for a long series of ages the Mon-Annam races held the broad river-valleys and alluvial deltas of Southern Indo-China in almost undisturbed possession, and no doubt it is to this period of comparative peace and prosperity that the civilization of Cambodia and the Indo-Chinese suzerainty in the Malay Peninsula must be attributed.

Whether their hold on this comparatively distant region was shaken by the growing influx of Hinduized Malays from Sumatra, or whether the pressure of their inland neighbours, the Siamese,

45. Indo-Chinese Essays, series I, vol. I, pp. 219-234.

46. J. I. A. passim.

47. Le Royaume du Cambodge vol. II, pp. 25, 35.

48. Op. cit. p. 43, seqq.

compelled them to retire from their outlying provinces and attempt to rally their forces in lands more peculiarly their own, is a question which the evidence of language can hardly be called upon to settle, and which history does not appear to answer. But it seems probable that the latter was the determining factor in the situation; otherwise we should expect to find some traces, either in Malay legend or elsewhere, of the Sumatran Malays meeting with strong opposition when they made their settlements in the Peninsula, whereas that does not appear to have been the case. There is no record,⁴⁹ apparently, of the Malays having found an Indo-Chinese race dominant in the Peninsula and there seems to be no tradition of their having conquered or expelled such a race. It is no doubt possible, as I have already suggested, that a strain of Mon-Annam blood still exists in the Peninsula, blended in the veins of the aboriginal tribes in Perak and Pahang who while speaking distinctly non-Malayan languages, which contain a large proportion of Mon-Annam words, are described as quite the reverse of the Negritos in physique, being men of comparatively tall and shapely stature and somewhat fairer than the Malays. On the other hand it is not unlikely that a remnant of the old Indo-Chinese stock, may have been absorbed by the Malay immigrants, and may form some small element in the modern mixed Malay race of the Peninsula. The Malays seem to possess in an exceptional degree the power of assimilating and absorbing individuals of other races, and in

49. The account in the "Sejarah Malayu" of the taking of Glangkiu in Johor by the Kling Raja Suran, the mythical founder of Vijayanagar, may perhaps be a faint echo of the last stand made by the Indo-Chinese power in the Malay Peninsula, and although the Raja of Glangkiu is spoken of as a Siamese, it is not impossible that the Malay tradition of an early Siamese occupation of the Peninsula may preserve the remembrance of the older Mon-Annam suzerainty which probably proceeded from Siam before that country had been peopled by the Thai race. Except this first and purely legendary account, there is no mention of the Siamese till some time after Muhammadanism had become the established religion in Malacca, a time which coincides with the period in which they finally broke up the old Cambodian empire and intruded themselves like a wedge between Pegu and the present Camboja. From that period onwards the Malay Peninsula was entirely cut off from the Mon-Annam kingdoms but appears to have been subjected to a succession of Siamese invasions, and it is therefore not inconceivable that floating legends of an older Indo-Chinese supremacy were then by a natural confusion attributed to the Siamese.

the old pre-Muhammadan days there would be hardly any social barrier between Malays and Indo-Chinese. So slight to an outsider's eye was the difference between them at that time that an Arabian⁵⁰ authority speaks of the Malays as a branch of the race of *Comer*, by which he undoubtedly meant Khmer, that is Cambodian. Any Cambodians remaining in the Peninsula, who did not retire into the interior and throw in their lot with the wild tribes, could hardly fail to be absorbed by the Malays.

Be that as it may, we have at any rate clear proof of a former connection or contact between the Peninsular aborigines and a race of Mon-Annam stock. From Patani to Johor among a great number of isolated tribal communities, which appear to belong to several distinct races and whose dialects are mutually unintelligible, we yet find clear indications of a dominant Indo-Chinese influence imbedded, as it were, in the elements of their speech, the evidence, as it seems to me, of the former presence of a ruling race that has long since passed away from the land.

Before concluding this paper, I wish to point out that the fact of these dialects having much in common has been recognized before and, as I think, entirely misinterpreted. Nearly twenty years ago the identity of many words in the different aboriginal dialects was pointed out by M. de Miklucho-Maclay;⁵¹ it astonished him and confirmed him in his belief that a trace of "Melanesian" (or as it would perhaps be better to put it "Negrito") blood exists in the Orang Utan of the southern parts of the Peninsula. Some years later, M. de Quatrefages⁵² remarked on this fact "there is nothing in it which will not seem quite natural to any one who studies the history of Negritos taken as a whole."

I may be pardoned if, with all deference to an enterprising explorer and a distinguished man of science, I venture to point out that as the words in question are mostly of Indo-Chinese origin, they cannot be adduced to support the theory of the existence of Negrito blood in the Orang Utan of the South of the Peninsula, or to illustrate "the history of Negritos taken as a whole." The Negrito theory, the truth of which I do not for

50. Ibn Zaid in the middle of the 12th century. The identity of *Comer* and Khmer was pointed out by Col. Yule. *v. Forbes* op. cit. p. 47.

51. *v. J. S. B. R. A. S.* No. 1. p. 43.

52. *v. ibid.*, No. 13, p. 7.

a moment dispute, must rest on other evidence: and I may be excused for adding that we have here yet another instance of the danger of trying to draw ethnological conclusions from philological data without at least a critical examination of the latter.

So much for the unwritten and long forgotten chapter in the history of the Malay Peninsula, which it has been the object of this paper to recall to the attention of such as are interested in matters of this sort. In our time the aspect of affairs is changed: the influences to which the aboriginal tribes of jungle men are exposed are widely different. Year by year words of Malay origin are supplanting their old equivalents in the speech of the aborigines, and the time is doubtless not far distant when, except perhaps in two or three remote districts, the old languages will be altogether superseded by Malay. In other words, the Peninsula has now for centuries past been more closely connected with the neighbouring islands than with the continent of which it forms an outlying part, and the traces of its old subjection to Indo-Chinese influences have so far faded away that it is hard to realize that a closer and more intimate connection at one time existed between them. To collect and analyse such evidence as still remains of an earlier order of things seems to me a work well worth doing, the importance of which as a branch of Oriental research it is hardly possible, as yet, to estimate, but which in any case will not be labour lost. The present paper cannot, in the nature of things, pretend to be more than a slight outline sketch of one side of the matter: it raises more questions than it solves and does not profess to be in any way the last word on the subject. It is to be hoped therefore that this and similar lines of enquiry will be followed up by the more detailed investigations of others, whose opportunities for pursuing them are far greater than such as fall to the lot of any one living in a Malacca district where no aboriginal dialect has been spoken with anything like purity for several generations. To record and study the rude jargons of jungle tribes is not indeed an inviting task and if the matter ended there, it would hardly, perhaps, be worth the trouble: but when it is considered that such researches, trifling as they may seem and wearisome as they may be, are likely to throw a new light on the history of the Peninsula and the relations of the races that

have from time to time occupied this region, to establish, it may be, on a more certain footing the ethnology and philology of Southern Indo-China, and to furnish additional data towards the elucidation of the origin of the Malay race, it will be admitted that even the collection of a short vocabulary, provided it be accurate, is a valuable contribution to what is at present an almost unexplored field of investigation. Those who have the opportunity should however aim at more than that, and should supplement every list of words by a series of sentences and phrases illustrating as fully as possible the construction and grammar of the language, dialect, or jargon which they represent, as well as by a careful description of the people who speak it. It is only by the collation and comparison of a large mass of such materials, collected independently but according to the same general plan, that we can hope to attain to a thorough knowledge of the pre-Malayan philology of the Peninsula, which will enable us to fill up many a blank in its history and ethnology, besides contributing an additional chapter to the ever growing Science of Language.

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